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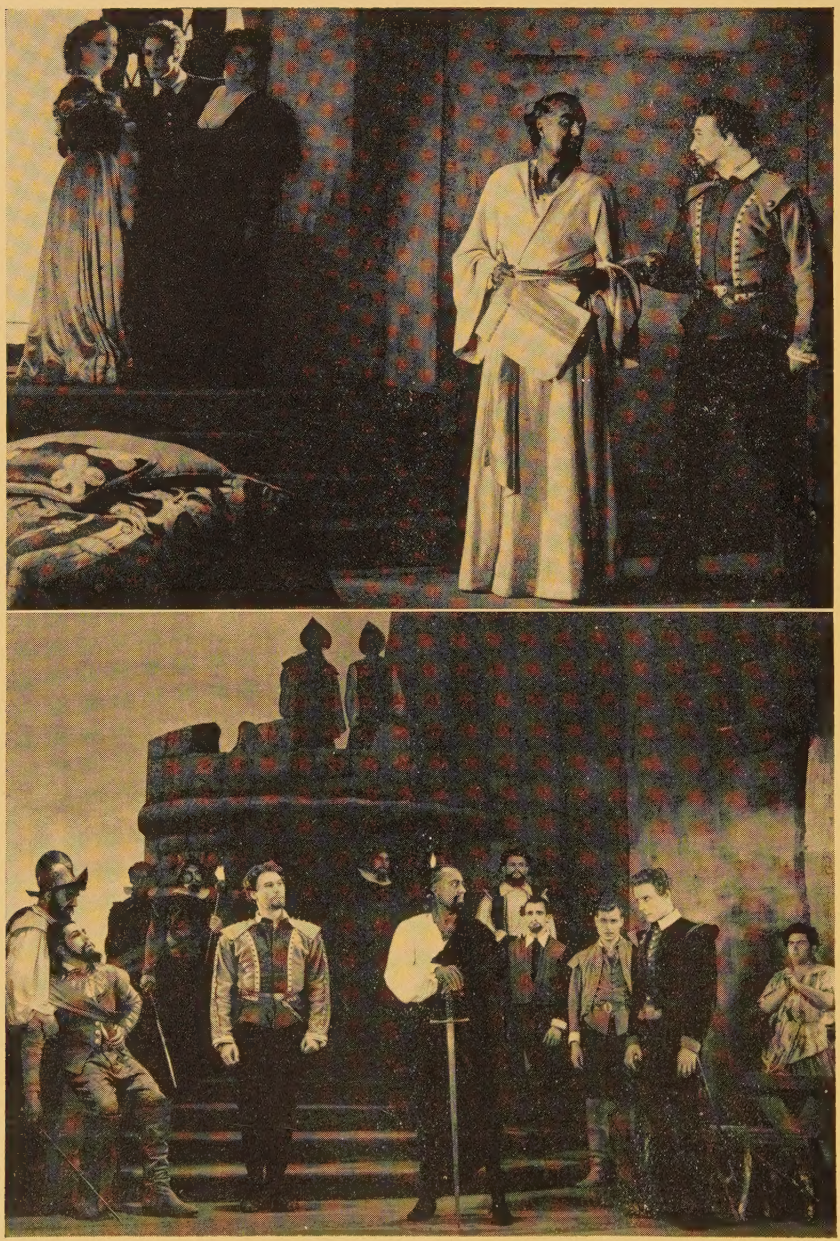

GODFREY TEARLE'S 1948 PRODUCTION OF "OTHELLO" WHICH IS TO BE PLAYED AGAIN THIS SEASON. IN THE ABOVE DIANA WYNYARD APPEARED AS DESDEMONA, JOHN JUSTIN AS CASSIO, ENA BURRIL AS EMILIA, MR. TEARLE AS OTHELLO, AND ANTHONY QUAYLE AS IAGO.

OTHELLO'S CRUCIAL MOMENT

By JOHN WILCOX

THE MOMENT when it first dawns on Othello that Iago would have him suspect Desdemona is crucial. It is crucial in the lives of the characters, and it is crucial in the creative process of the author. The difficulty of explaining the conduct of the characters during this brief time has produced much of the criticism of the tragedy, which consists largely of analyses of Shakespeare's artistry in motivating Othello's acceptance of Iago's first insinuations. The voluminous expatiations on the villain's skill in wrong-doing, the elaborate searches for evidence of the hero's lack of acute social judgment, and the attempts to refer the problem to Elizabethan psychology or to dramatic conventions of the Shakespearean stage,—all these tend to focus on this moment.[1]

No one apparently has placed the time before the familiar entry of Othello and Iago, III, iii, 28. The average reader assumes that Iago's

> Ha! I like not that.

plants the suggestion and that the poison is fully at work forty lines later when Othello exclaims,

> Prythee, no more; let him come when he will;
> I will deny thee nothing.

This view asks one to believe that thirty-five vague and equivocal words of Iago's would plant and direct suspicion of the most specific sort before it would excite a violent reaction against the accuser. Let us examine the scene. According to the conventional visualization, Othello enters care-free, poised, and completely devoid of suspicion

or tendency to suspect. At a distance he sees Cassio and Desdemona talking as he has often seen them talking before, for the three were good friends during the wooing back in Venice. Iago's "I like not that" acts like a match to a fuse. The hidden fires of jealousy begin to burn furiously. The critical reader of the text might wonder how Othello could guess what it was Iago did not like. Iago's "guilty-like" five lines later is equally lacking in designation of what is guilty-like. But Othello responds without uncertainty. To Desdemona's request to call Cassio back, he seems cold, evasive, already in the throes of a jealousy he is not quite willing to admit verbally. When she seems to lose all sense of social propriety and madly repeats and repeats her inopportune request, he shouts excitedly that he will deny her nothing. After she leaves, fifteen lines later, Othello exclaims,

> Excellent wretch! Perdition catch my soul,
> But I do love thee! and when I love thee not,
> Chaos is come again.

Doubt possesses the man, and before the scene is ended he will be planning a deadly revenge on his hapless wife. The conception of the play just outlined fixes the crucial moment. In doing so, however, it leaves about as implausible a passage as can be found in serious dramatic literature. No wonder Desdemona is bewildered! Othello should be bewildered too. The audience knows that Othello will become jealous, because Iago has said he would produce this effect. But Othello was not present when this was said, and if he has not been told off stage, he has no real cue to get jealous at Iago's vague insinuations. Instead he would become devastatingly indignant at his effrontery in questioning Desdemona's fidelity.

There has long existed another view, one that postpones the crucial moment as much as two hundred lines. According to the notes in the Variorum *Othello,* this view was an acting innovation by Salvini or Fechter in the mid-nineteenth century. From them it reached Edwin Booth. The scene is improved in plausibility by this

interpretation, to which Professor Kittredge has substantially given his approval. As the latter visualizes the scene described above, Iago's initial insinuations are all directed at Cassio, not at Desdemona. Othello's replies to Desdemona are not displeased: Othello is simply busy. His "*Prithee no more* means merely, 'Pray don't think you must urge me further; your petition is granted!' " Desdemona's pleading is amusing and "Othello's mood is one of enthusiastic delight in Desdemona's charming ways; but he has business to attend to." After Desdemona leaves, Iago turns Othello's suspicion from Cassio to Desdemona through successive insinuations.[2] Kittredge does not indicate just when the poison strikes home, but Fechter and Booth place it clearly. Iago has just said that Desdemona deceived her father in marrying him. Othello says:

> And so she did.

Booth would have this line given "Hoarsely and with despairing look." Fechter says, "Othello stops at once, as struck by a thunderbolt! His face changes by degrees, his eyes open as if a veil had been taken away!"[3]

It may be reasonably urged that the delay of the crucial moment invented by these actors simplifies the event by awaiting Desdemona's exit from the scene. It may slightly improve the credibility by prolonging the time when Othello is heedlessly listening to poisonous words. It is hard to see, however, how this delay removes the basic implausibility of Othello's lack of resentment when he first senses that his wife is being vilified. It does not answer the objection that Othello's speeches to Desdemona *can* be read with intense passion and that the ability to play the passage lightly may be more actor's art than author's intention. Desdemona's absurd importunities can also be played lightly, but there may be reasonable doubt that Shakespeare invented Desdemona's unconscious playing into Iago's hands without knowing he had done it. The problem apparently persists.

In a description of the skeptical criticism of Stoll and Schücking, Karl Young pointed out that they find illogical gaps in some of

Shakespeare's greatest plays, places where breaks occur. Young says,

> This lesion in the organism in the drama may be described, simply, as a cleavage between the character and the plot. In essential parts of certain of these plays the critic finds the personality of the hero developing into qualities and magnitude that do not conform to the fabric of the action. The personality seems to outgrow the design. A psychological inconsistency is discerned between men and their deeds. What the hero *does,* we are told, cannot be reconciled with what he *is.*

Young goes on to illustrate this from *Lear* and *Othello.* In his discussion of the latter we have this clear statement of the crux mentioned above:

> Let us observe the application of this notion to such a play as *Othello.* For the action of this tragedy Shakespeare availed himself of an Italian novel of Cinthio, and to the events of this tale the dramatist adhered with substantial fidelity. As one reads the Italian story one casually observes that the hero's jealousy is aroused very suddenly, and that the tempter succeeds with rare facility. But this observation gives the reader no pause, for the unnamed Moor has no substance in the way of personality, and one is ready to accept whatever the narrator may offer. The tale is a mere succession of events, and in the absence of human vitality the reader must be receptive to the excitement of the happenings or he will receive nothing at all. The Moor yields easily; but why not? He has no human authenticity with which to resist any action that the story-teller may record or contrive.
>
> Now no one need be told that, having chosen this narrative fabric for his action, Shakespeare erected in the midst of the borrowed events a fresh and potent creation whom we know as Othello. This personage occupies the role of Cinthio's Moor; but the man, Othello, never existed in the world until Shakespeare created him. If, then, in the midst of a story by Cinthio we encounter this intense person created by Shakespeare, we may justly enough inquire whether this new dramatic figure will submit to the action provided for him. Will all of the new psychology conform to all of the old intrigue?

> The orthodox belief is, of course, that the behavior of Othello is psychologically rational: that he is a pure and trustful spirit who fell through the uncanny guile of Iago. But this doctrine the skeptics of our day do not readily accept, and the chief obstacle to their acceptance is the personality of Othello himself.
>
> Through the first part of the play — before the temptation — this personage moves before us in the full dignity of his passionate love, his eloquence, his poetry, his self-control, his sagacity as a public servant. Othello's assured command over Brabantio's turbulence, his romantic charm and quiet candor in the council-chamber, his military mastery and beatification in love after his arrival in Cyprus — these phenomena reveal the lofty personage who is made to succumb to the manœuvers of Iago within one scene of the third act, and who at the end of the scene is found kneeling beside his tempter, swearing blood and vengeance. One fairly wonders whether the ready vengeance and the kneeling figure are not a bit of sensational story rather than part of the man we have by this time come to know. For after the contrivances of Iago have run their course of agitation, this same man, Othello, emerges again from the frantic intrigue, and once more we feel the presence of the earlier personality, in his pride, now pathetic, in his power, now softened, in his love, now understood. Would this man have succumbed to jealousy through such solicitings as those provided in this intrigue? Would Othello have trusted this calumniator rather than his own wife? Could the person that Othello *is* ever have done all the things that Othello is made to *do*? The skeptics say he could not.[4]

For a good many years it has seemed to me that Mr. Stoll's explanation of this situation by the use of the convention of the "calumniator credited" has left something to be added. If Shakespeare resorted to this convention he must have recognized that the breach between character and action existed. If he discerned the need for credibility at this point, he may well have had recourse to something more interesting intrinsically than the commonplace convention. Why did Shakespeare go to all the effort he did to demonstrate the villainy of Iago? In *Much Ado About Nothing* he simply mentions that Don John is a bastard, and has a mean disposition, and then he sets him to work calumniating Hero. The author's stress on Iago, quite needless for the convention, is so great that it even

seems to some minds to make the play what Parrott calls a study of the power of evil in the world.[5] Perhaps another look at the play will help.

It is hard to take a fresh view of a Shakespeare play because of the vitality in the individual mind of traditional views. There persists, for example, a predisposition to think of Shakespeare as writing for readers, not for spectators. Much criticism apparently assumes that Shakespeare expressed himself fully in the *words* of his dramatic dialogue. How easy it is to forget almost that, as a dramatist, he tells his story in visual and auditory terms? One tends to overlook the fact that even a sound reading of a dramatic text is only an approximation to the original. Much of what the author conceived existed only in the directed voice, directed movement, directed gesture, and directed expression of his actors. We may recover some of these elements contributed by direction if we consent to be aided by specific knowledge of dramatic technique and even more by a determination to see through the text to the play in terms of the author's physical stage, his acting personalities, his devices for focusing audience attention. We must resolve to restrain our roving imaginations from interpreting as freely as we do novels. For example Bradley says of the personality of Desdemona:

> And when we watch her in her suffering and death we are so penetrated by the sense of her heavenly sweetness and self-surrender that we almost forget that she had shown herself quite as exceptional in the active assertion of her own soul and will. She tends to become to us predominently pathetic, the sweetest and most pathetic of Shakespeare's women, as innocent as Miranda and as loving as Viola, yet suffering more deeply than Cordelia or Imogen. And she seems to lack that independence and strength of spirit which Cordelia and Imogen possess, and which in a manner raises them above suffering. She appears passive and defenseless, and can oppose to wrong nothing but the infinite endurance and forgiveness of a love that knows not how to resist or resent. She thus becomes at once the most beautiful example of this love, and the most pathetic heroine in Shakespeare's world.[6]

Such thoughts come to the free revery of an Oxford professor as

he turns the pages of a familiar text in the quiet of his study. It may all be adumbrated in the human vision of the dramatic representation of her. But on the whole Shakespeare gave the audience little chance to center attention on her. Even the poignant hundred lines in which Desdemona prepares for bed is shadowed by Othello's cruel madness in the scene of the pretended bordello. Even when absent, Othello dominates. Lovely and pathetic Desdemona seems when the spectators stop to think about her, but they can do so only casually when Burbage is down stage.

In search of a fresh view this present examination starts under the influence of what Professor Moody E. Prior calls "the limitations of certain more sophisticated and erudite studies founded on historical principles." It assumes, and tries to adhere to the assumption with consistency, that the author of *Othello* was a dramatist and that he wrote from dramatic rather than literary intentions. Any implication on the reader's part that this disparages or is intended to disparage, the literary quality of the result, is not conceded.

About 1603 the company of players wished another tragedy. Burbage's acting, his voice, his presence, his power to make emotions visible and audible lay before Shakespeare as plainly as the technical resources of instrumental virtuosos before a composer of music. The reason a theater need a new play is that it wishes a new story to tell dramatically. It wants a new combination of words, gestures, tones of voice, relationships of characters, emotions, and clashes of wills,—events of visual and auditory interest. By what sequence of choices the election fell on the obscure and unliterary trifle in Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* we shall doubtless never know; but the tale does present clearly visible theatrical merits, which one can readily imagine Shakespeare pointed out in preliminary discussions with his fellow players.

First of all, the hero kills his wife, not villainously but with a mistaken sense of justice. Here is an exciting event in which pity may vie with horror. The principal in these extraordinary occurrences is a dark-skinned Moor, whose Mediterranean appearance may recall the militant Turks or Tamburlaine; at least it gives the

tale an exotic touch of visible local color. Then, paradoxically, from fabulously licentious Venice where, as Englishmen then believed, marital infidelity was a social convention not reproved by so much as a harsh word,—yes, from this very sinkhole of sin comes this striking heroine, a chaste wife brutally killed by her husband on the mere suspicion of infidelity. These fascinating events, Shakespeare would observe, are brought about by a villain, a type of character the theater never sees too much of. Maybe modern critics misjudge the Elizabethan playwright in seeking literary motives for situations made desirable by the nature of success in the theater. Perhaps Shakespeare demonstrated in his prospectus that profitable applause awaited the successful presentation of these theatrical events and closed the deal when Burbage rejoiced over the expectation of a part he could all but "tear a cat in."

Shakespeare's thinking in plotting the play cannot be reproduced from a comparison of his source with his finished tragedy, but it is surely possible to discern something of the working of his mind in the alterations he made and in the parts he retained. With a steady orientation on the single criterion of theatrical needs, one can see how the great drama grew out of Cinthio's tawdry and ineffectual narration. This is not the occasion to consider all the points of comparison, for we are concerned only with Othello's crucial moment.[7]

More emphatically than a novelist, a playwright must start with his conclusion. Plainly Cinthio's account of protracted events subsequent to the death of Desdemona is theatrically anticlimactic and useless.[8] The selection of a noble suicide for Othello and a quick torture for Iago brings a visually presentable conclusion. This adjusts the focus on Burbage as Othello and gives him opportunity for a magnificent, emotional, lofty close. It allows the play to reveal Othello's nobility from the beginning of the story, make Desdemona's marriage to him reasonable, and give the audience two fine-high-minded characters to admire and pity for their dreadful mistakes. It is hardly necessary to imagine an Aristotelian principle of tragedy at work to explain Shakespeare's elevation of Cinthio's tawdry Moor into the noble Othello. Heightened interest for the audi-

ence is entirely adequate. It is possible also that long before Schücking and Stoll, Shakespeare perceived that this heightening of Othello's moral and intellectual stature cancelled Cinthio's basic motivation, the natural jealousy of the Moor.

In casting about for a new way to make the dramatically essential murder of Desdemona plausible, for plausibility is often as near as theatrical considerations allow a dramatist to come to sound literary causation, Shakespeare decided that Cinthio's commonplace Italian ensign must be magnified into as big and supersubtle a villain as English audiences can imagine an Italian to be. Perhaps it was at about this point in planning these fundamental decisions that Shakespeare saw the crux with which we started, that no amount of super-subtlety will make credible the moment when Othello first listens to Iago. The point about human nature has already been emphasized by endless commentaries. When a friend, no matter how respected, casts his first recognizable word of suspicion on the fidelity of a man's wife, he runs a definite risk, and, if wise, is ready to dodge. I think it was Karl Young who remarked that in real life the Othello of the first two acts would kick Iago down stairs in the third. Or, as Mr. Stoll suggests, "he should have struck him as at Aleppo once he did the turban'd Turk." Some such reaction is psychologically inevitable but dramatically impossible, for the play must somehow go on to its tragic close. As Young says, Othello has been developed from Cinthio's shadowy Moor until he is a man who can no longer perform the action which he must perform if the play is to be written. Shakespeare's Iago could get away with as much as any man, but an immediate explosion of uncontrollable violence is the most probable reaction for Othello as soon as he hears the first word of dirty insinuation, no matter how supersubtle.

I wish to point out the internal evidence that Shakespeare perceived this crux and resolved it by a device that actors and critics have not seen. Within the play itself I find reasons for thinking he decided to advance the crucial moment to an earlier time than has hitherto been recognized. In this way he was able to render the impossible act as plausible as he could *through taking it off stage.* The man who wrote the prologue to *Henry V* knew vague imagina-

tion seems more convincing than poor representation. Each spectator will obligingly think off-stage speeches adequate on mere hints as to their import if the hints are coupled with visual evidence of their adequacy. By offering Iago's impossibly difficult first hints of Desdemona's infidelity off stage, Shakespeare depends upon the imaginary forces of the spectator. The textual evidence that he employed this modification of the convention of the calumniator credited indicates three separate steps in the device. First, the calumniator and his lie must be given a very full exposition before the crucial moment. Second, the crucial moment must occur off stage, so that no member of the audience can ever be tempted to judge of the ineffectiveness of specific words or acts, as critics have done ad infinitum with III, iii. Third, on his entrance after the off-stage talk, the fact that Othello is convinced must be visible, not spoken. Othello's verbal admission will lag slowly after.

When I note that these three steps are envisaged in, or allowed by, the text of the play, the objection may be offered that this explanation is a mere conjecture. To this I must reply that, for that matter, so is the opposite or any other notion. And of necessity, for every interpreter works from what he conceives as the author's intent. The present view uses known theatrical techniques and effects instead of depending upon literary techniques as manifest in the mere wording of the text. But the notion is not thereby rendered vulnerable to the charge that it is too conjectural. The objection may also be offered that this explanation does not remove the difficulty in making the crux psychologically reasonable to those who demand of an Elizabethan drama the same tight motivation expected in a Victorian novel. This argument has been disposed of by any number of modern skeptical critics: such motivation does not exist.

Allow me a moment to point out the details of Shakespeare's skilful dramaturgic device:

First the stress on Iago in the opening half of the play focuses attention deftly. The nobility and serenity of Othello is never doubted. But infinite pains are taken to build Iago into a great bundle of self-confessed, villainous subtleties, a man apparently capable of

miracles of soul-poisoning. While Othello in the first act handles the brawl and the meeting of the senate with perfect aplomb, Iago is given three lines to Othello's two in which to assert his own villainy and his malicious determination. In the second act, Iago is given four lines to each one of Othello's. The impression of an irresistible force going to meet the immovable Othello heightens visibly. Othello's calm seems stupid, blind; and every groundling wants to shout, "Iago's not honest." Othello's doom is not made plausible by the lines of III, iii; it is made clear in advance to every spectator that Iago can and will do what he threatens. Even the time and method are indicated at the end of the second act. Iago promises to "pour this pestilence into his ear" and concludes with these emphatic words:

> Two things are to be done:
> My wife must move for Cassio to her mistress;
> I'll set her on;
> Myself the while to draw the Moor apart,
> And bring him jump where he may Cassio find
> Soliciting his wife.

Shakespeare has made very sure this calumniator will be credited. These words are placed where they get an exit emphasis.

Then, second, no audience can help being tense with expectation when the six-line scene, III, ii, shows a sane Othello in the act of being drawn apart to join Iago off stage. Iago's exit could surely stress the point with pantomime and facial expression that would almost shout, "Watch what I am going to do with him, now that I am getting him apart!" Critical literature fails to give a tenable reason why Shakespeare invented this simple scene. What better chance could he give Iago? Every thing is working out for the best for this worst of all possible villains, just as the plot demands. Too tense for rational Coleridge-like reflections on the soundness of motivation, the audience leans forward in convinced expectation as the third part of the device brings the two men back on the stage. The first twenty-eight lines of the next scene heighten Iago's malevolence by showing once more how completely faithful Desdemona is. As they come, Iago's silent but significant leer indicates plainly "See!

I have done it!" Iago is visibly bringing Othello jump with Cassio's apparent solicitation. Surely Othello's silent appearance could carry evident perturbation to show that the crucial moment had met diabolical success and that Othello's poise is gone forever. Iago's

Ha! I like not that.

is not a vague, tentative start. It is a pointed, suggestive insinuation tossed into a poisoned mind obviously prepared by off-stage talk to believe the worst.

No one will ever know what Iago's off-stage words were. Only their effectiveness is clear. The crisis of explosion has somehow been passed on the fortifications. Othello has entered trusting Iago, suspicious of Desdemona and Cassio, but generally reserved and evasive. Iago must still bring him to the point of open admission of his imagined cuckoldom. That is the business of III, iii, but no part of this discussion.

Wayne University

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[1]It is unnecessary to amplify here this point which is a continuous thread through the seventy interesting and sensitive pages of E. E. Stoll, *Othello: An Historical and Comparative Study* (Minneapolis, 1915). This present paper can be thought of as a proposed alteration in a minor detail of Mr. Stoll's major thesis.

[2]G. L. Kittridge, *Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare,* p. 1290-95.

[3]Variorum *Othello,* p. 184n.

[4]Karl Young, "The Shakespeare Skeptics," *North American Review,* CCXV (1922), 384-85.

[5]Thomas Marc Parrott, *Shakespeare,* p. 725.

[6]A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy,* London (1904), p. 203.

[7]After the above was written I looked in Mr. Harley Granville-Barker *Prefaces to Shakespeare,* Vol. II (Princeton, 1947) and found an extended analysis of the relation of *Othello* to Cinthio's tale similar to the procedure I have briefly employed here.

[8]For details of the seventh novella of the third decade of Geraldi Cinthio's *Hecatommithi,* from which the action of the play was devised, see the reprint in the Variorum *Othello,* pp. 377-389.

THE SUICIDE OF ANTONY IN *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA,* Act IV, Scene xiv

By Wallace A. Bacon

ONE OF THE most fascinating sources of illumination for the critic who has a sensible desire to know what happens to Shakespeare on the stage is the actors' business which is handed down through prompt books, tradition, and critical reviews of performances. Frequently a passage depends for its illumination upon just such extra-textual considerations; frequently an unexpected bit of stage business will change one's attitude toward a scene or a character in the action. Happily, studies of such matters are from time to time set forth for students, though they are perhaps too frequently ignored in the university classroom.

Because of its essential connection with the character of the hero, an interesting problem in the staging of Act IV, Scene xiv, in the Katharine Cornell production of *Antony and Cleopatra* seems to me to warrant recording. The incident of which I write shows how keenly the members of that often brilliant production respected the playwright's intentions, and how true to the text Mr. Godfrey Tearle sought to keep his Antony.

The play had already finished its run in New York and elsewhere when it came to the Blackstone Theatre in Chicago, where the production finally closed down in the spring of 1948. A group of my students and I from the School of Speech at Northwestern University went in a body to see the performance, which we had been discussing for several days in advance, and the next day spent the class hour in comparing our reactions to sets, lighting, charac-

terization, delivery, and all those other aspects of production in which the students showed a keen and lively interest. I was struck by one comment by a young actor, Frederick Congdon, which coincided exactly with a reaction which I had already discussed with Miss Claudia Webster, one of the directors in the University Theatre. The comment was on Act IV, Scene xiv, and it concerned Antony's preparation for death.

In the scene, after Mardian has brought news of Cleopatra's "death," Antony delivers the famous "Unarm, Eros; the long day's task is done, / And we must sleep." He sends Mardian away, bids Eros undo his armor, and sends Eros to carry from the stage the "bruised pieces." Left alone, Antony says,

> I will o'er take thee, Cleopatra, and
> Weep for my pardon. So it must be, for now
> All length is torture; since the torch is out,
> Lie down, and stray no farther. Now all labour
> Mars what it does; yea, very force entangles
> Itself with strength. Seal then, and all is done.
> Eros!—I come, my queen!—Eros!—Stay for me!
> Where souls do couch on flowers, we'll hand in hand,
> And with our sprightly port make the ghosts gaze.
> Dido and her Aeneas shall want troops,
> And all the haunt be ours. Come, Eros, Eros!

According to Mr. Tearle's interpretation at this point, Antony, who had already spoken of "sleep" in the earlier lines to Eros, intended during Eros' absence from the stage to commit suicide, and half drew his sword from its scabbard to complete the action. The impulse was marked. The conclusion to be drawn by the audience, evidently, was that Antony had not the courage to kill himself.

Evidence of other handling of the scene is not easy to come by. Theobald, as quoted in the Variorum text, makes it quite clear that he, too, thought Antony about to kill himself with the line "Seal then, and all is done." And Granville-Barker points out the lack of courage displayed by this fallen star. Furthermore, the text itself

bears what may be taken as evidence that Antony intended to kill himself and was stayed by a lack of courage, for upon the return of Eros, Antony says to him,

> Since Cleopatra died
> I have liv'd in such dishonour that the gods
> Detest my baseness. I, that with my sword
> Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
> With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack
> The courage of a woman; less noble mind
> Than she which by her death our Caesar tells,
> "I am conqueror of myself."

And he bids Eros strike the blow which will deliver him. Furthermore, when Eros instead kills himself and lies dead before his master (a scene which was played with consummate skill in Miss Cornell's production), Antony addresses his body thus:

> Thrice-nobler than myself!
> Thou teachest me, O valiant Eros, what
> I should, and thou couldst not. My queen and Eros
> Have by their brave instruction got upon me
> A nobleness in record; but I will be
> A bridegroom in my death, and run into 't
> As to a lover's bed. Come, then; and, Eros,
> Thy master dies thy scholar: to do thus
> I learn'd of thee.

And he falls upon his own sword, botches the job, and lies agonized upon the stage, a mighty soldier reduced to the most abject of spectacles. By his own admission, Antony (1) has lacked the courage of a woman, (2) has been less noble than Eros, and (3) has been the scholar of both Eros and the queen.

Still, I would contend that Antony ought not, when he says "Seal then, and all is done," to begin to remove his blade from its sheath to kill himself. There is a difference, and a very real difference, between Antony's calling himself a coward and Mr. Tearle's *showing* Antony to be a coward. It is one thing to say that Antony, in his despair, looks with shame upon the fact of his remaining alive, and condemns himself for enduring the whips and scorns of time; it is something far different for the actor to give the impression that

Antony's self-condemnation is to be taken as a statement of the truth. The drawing of the sword during Antony's soliliquy specifically indicates an actor's belief that Antony *is* reluctant to take his own life, that he *is* less courageous than his queen. The action becomes thus an interpretation of the lines beginning "Since Cleopatra died," and indicates not only that Antony thinks himself base, but that he is indeed base in his lack of courage. The question resolves itself into one of two possibilities: either the drawing of the sword is proper, and Antony tries and fails to commit suicide, or the drawing of the sword is false to the spirit of Antony, whose despairing words about himself are not meant to be taken literally by the audience. I take it that the latter possibility is the correct one, and that Shakespeare never means his audience to turn from Antony in the scene.

Antony, when he says "The long day's task is done," intends to die. There is no question about that. His bidding of Eros to take the armor away is not, I think, an indication that he wishes to be alone to kill himself, but rather an opportunity to say aloud, and alone, what is in his heart, and, on a practical level, a way to get rid of the suit of armor so that it will not clutter up the stage when the bodies are removed (a point which Granville-Barker also makes). The speech "Seal then, and all is done," is simply a conclusion to the farewell which he has been addressing to Cleopatra and to us, and is followed at once by his call to Eros. Eros is intended all the while to do the actual dispatching. Had Shakespeare meant Antony to make a gesture of suicide and then fall back, his usual practice would certainly have been to show the shift in intention, to show the flagging of will, in words. Antony has made up his mind to die and intends that Eros shall do the deed.

The point is clarified by the action which follows. Eros returns, and Antony, announcing that life is now become dishonour, says,

> I, that with my sword
> Quarter'd the world, and o'er green Neptune's back
> With ships made cities, condemn myself to lack
> The courage of a woman; less noble mind
> Than she which by her death our Caesar tells,
> "I am conqueror of myself."

Antony means *not* that he is too cowardly to kill himself, but that he has been dishonoured by not having died *earlier*. Since there is no hope, death is the only possible answer; Cleopatra has seen that, Antony thinks, and has been quicker in honor than he. But the distinction between dying at his *own* hand and dying at *Eros'* hand—a distinction which we make at once—has not, surely, entered Antony's mind, for he proceeds, having made the matter clear to his soldier, to counsel him thus:

> Thou art sworn, Eros,
> That, when the exigent should come, which now
> Is come indeed, when I should see behind me
> The inevitable prosecution of
> Disgrace and horror, that, on my command,
> Thou then wouldst kill me. Do't; the time is come.
> Thou strik'st not me, 'tis Caesar thou defeat'st.
> Put colour in thy cheek.

It is inconceivable that Antony should say "Put colour in thy cheek" to Eros, pretending to be full of courage himself, if he had already shown himself a coward, and the audience is likely to turn from him in disgust if he does. Antony is fallen, indeed, and is now an object of pity to the spectators, but he is not so low as that. If he is a ruin, he is still a magnificent ruin, and Shakespeare is not trying to turn us from him, but rather to keep us with him in his sorrow.

The next speech is a further argument to Eros:

> Wouldst thou be window'd in great Rome and see
> Thy master thus with pleach'd arms, bending down
> His corrigible neck, his face subdu'd
> To penetrative shame, whilst the wheel'd seat
> Of fortunate Caesar, drawn before him, branded
> His baseness that ensued?

This may, on the one hand, be taken as the equivalent of saying, "If you won't kill me, I'll be led in triumph, for I am too cowardly to kill myself," (a thoroughly abnoxious Antony, to my mind), but it may again simply mean, as I feel that it does, that Antony is think-

ing of "death" and "*not* death" rather than of self-slaughter and slaughter by Eros. For him, death by his soldier's sword *is* the noble way out, and the only means of suicide which has occurred to him. Eros has, at some time in the past, sworn to do this deed, as the text explicitly declares, and Antony now asks him to do it:

> When I did make thee free, swor'st thou not then
> To do this when I bade thee? Do it at once;
> Or thy precedent services are all
> But accidents unpurpos'd. Draw, and come.

Antony is not, to repeat, castigating the loyal Eros for fearing to do what Antony himself is unwilling to do, but simply asking for death. And surely at that time when Antony had "freed" Eros, whenever that may have been (before the action of the play opens, presumably), he had not extracted from him the promise to kill his leader when the time should demand it simply because he knew that he would be afraid to kill himself. That would make of Antony a premeditated coward, and not the great Roman soldier we know him to have been. The argument will scarcely bear up under such scrutiny. All Antony is saying is, "It shames me to live, now that Cleopatra has shown me the nobility of death. I ask you to kill me, as you once promised to do." The scene is one of woe, but it is not one of shame. Antony may call himself a coward, but his death seems to us not an act of cowardice but the only Roman solution—or would, did he not heighten the pathos almost unbearably by bungling the job later on. He stands firm as he awaits the blow from Eros, but of course it does not come. It is only as Eros lies dead before him, having duplicated the supposed suicide of Cleopatra (her manner of death has not been described, of course), that Antony knows what must be done. The shame is that both the queen and Eros have preceded him in death; when it now becomes clear to him that he must kill himself, and that Eros has taught him the way to die, he acknowledges it at once and draws forth his sword. He is Eros' scholar, but he is also Eros' lord. We love Eros for being unwilling to slay his great chief, but we do not—or ought not—say, "He was braver than Antony."

While it is perhaps dangerous to argue interpretation in one play by drawing upon another play, the parallel between *Antony and*

Cleopatra and *Julius Caesar* is too marked at this point to be ignored, and certainly the question is not one of cowardice in *Caesar.* Brutus and Cassius, like Antony and Cleopatra, abhor the thought of being led in disgrace in a triumphal procession. That is complete and final ignominy, and utterly abhorrent to all four of them, as they expressly declare. In Act V, Scene i, Brutus and Cassius consider what must be done if they lose upon the plains of Philippi:

> *Cassius.* If we do lose this battle, then is this
> The very last time we shall speak together.
> What are you then determined to do?
>
> *Brutus.* Even by the rule of that philosophy
> By which I did blame Cato for the death
> Which he did give himself,—I know not how,
> But I do find it cowardly and vile,
> For fear of what might fall, so to prevent
> The time of life:—arming myself with patience
> To stay the providence of some high powers
> That govern us below.

This is a Christian stand, and it fits well with Hamlet's pause knowing that the Everlasting has fixed his canon 'gainst self-slaughter. But Cassius, knowing the alternative, asks:

> Then, if we lose this battle,
> You are contented to be led in triumph
> Thorough the streets of Rome?
>
> *Brutus.* No, Cassius, no. Think not, thou noble Roman,
> That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome;
> He bears too great a mind.

Here is the question posed, but there is no answer, really, to Cassius.

Cassius, it would seem, is ready to slay himself. But interestingly enough, that is not what is in Cassius' mind, as V. iii shows conclusively. Cassius intends to die, "to prevent the time of life," but it is not suicide which he contemplates, though that is, of course, the method which occurs naturally and immediately to us when we hear him speak. V. iii, however, shows him in an action almost exactly parallel with the Antony-Eros scene. Eros is here parallel

with Pindarus, servant to Cassius. Cassius, in words which remind us forcibly of Antony's later cry, says, to the news of Titinius' seizure (which, like Cleopatra's death, is false news),

> O, coward that I am, to live so long
> To see my best friend ta'en before my face!
> [*Pindarus* comes down]
>
> Come hither, sirrah.
> In Parthia did I take thee prisoner;
> And then I swore thee, saving of thy life,
> That whatsoever I did bid thee do,
> Thou shouldst attempt it. Come now, keep thine oath;
> Now be a freeman; and with this good sword
> That ran through Caesar's bowels, search this bosom.
> Stand not to answer; here, take thou the hilts,
> And, when my face is cover'd, as 'tis now,
> Guide thou the sword.

Unlike Eros, Pindarus stabs his lord, but he does so regretfully. Shall we say that Cassius has died a coward? He has only died in the high Roman fashion, and it presages the death of Brutus, who finally does, in spite of his earlier declaration, "prevent the time of life," and does it nobly. Notice that Brutus has an even harder time than Antony. He asks Clitus to kill him, and Clitus backs away saying, "I'll rather kill myself." He asks Dardanius, who cannot do the deed, though both Clitus and Dardanius continue to call Brutus "noble." Finally Brutus turns to his long-time friend, his schoolfellow, Volumnius, and asks,

> Even for that our love of old, I prithee,
> Hold thou my sword-hilts, whilst I run on it.

"That's not an office for a friend, my lord," cries Volumnius; as the alarum sounds and the cries "Fly, fly, fly" arise, Brutus turns to Strato, the last man left beside him, and says,

> I prithee, Strato, stay thou by thy lord.
> Thou art a fellow of a good respect;
> Thy life hath had some smatch of honour in it.
> Hold then my sword, and turn away thy face,
> While I do run upon it. Wilt thou, Strato?

Strato clasps his hand, holds the hilt steady, and Brutus runs upon the naked blade. Thus Brutus, like Cassius, cuts short his life even in the face of the philosophy expressed earlier in the scene with Cassius. And yet there is no thought, in the lines of the play, that Brutus' death was anything less than noble, however tragic it may have been. Plutarch is as little help in this play as he is in *Antony and Cleopatra,* for he records the fact of the deaths but says nothing about the morality of them. His very silence seems to indicate that there was no moral question to be raised. Shakespeare, in a Christian era, raises the question, but he does not answer it. Ultimately his position is the position of the figures in Plutarch: death by the sword, and with the assistance of a friend, was a noble solution to an unhappy fortune when that fortune meant being led in a Roman triumph. Neither Brutus nor Cassius is thought the less of because of the manner of his death, and Strato, who held Brutus' sword, is rewarded for his faithfulness to his master by being taken into the service of Octavius. Surely Antony, chastising himself for being later in the field of death than Cleopatra and the loyal Eros, speaks only for himself, and not for us. His attempted suicide beside the body of the dead Eros is not the act of a coward, but the attempt of a ruined soldier, once the noblest Roman of them all, to prevent the time of life.

At least this is the attitude I set forth, much more simply, to a member of the cast of Miss Cornell's production, and which he, in turn, suggested to Mr. Tearle. I do not know exactly in what terms Mr. Tearle accepted the argument; perhaps it was only that he saw it was possible to keep his interpretation and still omit the business. But the fact is that during the last week of the run of *Antony and Cleopatra,* after he had been playing the rôle during some two years in England and America, he was willing to alter the stage business in so climactic a scene. I saw the play again at the final performance (my third trip, each more instructive than the last); when the scene with Eros began, I sensed at once that in some strange way the character was different. When the moment for the withdrawal of the sword came—and passed—and the action never came, it seemed to me unquestionable that the new playing was correct. What Mr. Tearle may finally have felt, only he can say. I know that he liked the scene the first time he tried it without the business, and that he never replaced the action with the sword dur-

ing the last week of the run, once having tried it. Whether he did or did not decide, ultimately, that the business ought best to be omitted, it seems to me a splendid tribute to an actor of Mr. Tearle's stature and eminence that he was willing, at the very close of a run which had been for him a personal triumph, to consider so very seriously a textual problem raised by someone he did not know and of whose criticism he had heard only by indirection. It may be said, finally, that whatever the complaints which may from time to time be lodged against particular details of a Katharine Cornell production, from first to last her productions bear the marks of the same sincerity of purpose and constant desire for clarity shown by the actor who played Antony to her Cleopatra.

Northwestern University

THE FIRST RECORDED PRODUCTION OF A SHAKESPEAREAN PLAY IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

By Isabel Roome Mann

Hail, happy Stratford! envi'd be thy name!
What City boasts, than thee, a greater fame?

ON SEPTEMBER 9, 1746, John Ward, the master of a company of strolling players, declaimed these words as part of a Prologue that preceded the production of *Othello* in the Town Hall of Stratford-upon-Avon. This production of *Othello* is—or thus far appears to be—the first recorded presentation of a Shakespearean play in Shakespeare's native town. The Prologue was written by the Rev. Joseph Greene, the Master of the Stratford Free School, who, fortunately for posterity, also wrote an account of this dramatic event, and sent the letter-account to his brother, Mr. Richard Greene, Apothecary in Litchfield. The letter manuscripts, as well as the playbill for *Othello,* were collected by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, and are now cherished by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C.

The production of *Othello* in 1746 was a benefit production. The monumental bust of Shakespeare erected in Holy Trinity Church in Stratford a few years after the death of the Bard, had, "through length of years and other accidents become much impair'd and decay'd." Mr. John Ward, "Judicious and much Esteemed" master of a group of strolling players, who were described by Joseph Greene as "much ye best set I have seen out of London, and in which opinion I am far from being Singular," offered the services of himself and

his company to present a play by Shakespeare. He proposed that "the profit arising from which . . . Shou'd be Solely appropriated . . . to the repairing ye Original Monument of ye poet."

Except for a little intermission, Mr. Ward's company had been playing in the Town Hall in Stratford since May. For this privilege, Mr. Ward had "on ye previous condition" voluntarily deposited in the hands of the Mayor the sum of five guineas "for ye Use of ye poor of Stratford." The players had met with much encouragement, even beyond their expectations. Whether or not they gave any other plays by Shakespeare, we do not know. No others are mentioned in the letters of either Greene or Ward. John Ward himself is remembered not so much because he was the master of a provincial company of players, but because he was a member of a renowned acting family. He was the grandfather of Mrs. Scott Siddons, the noted Shakespearean actress who was a member of David Garrick's Drury Lane company. Ward's beautiful daughter eloped with actor Roger Kemble.

Printed playbills were given out to advertise the benefit performance of *Othello,* which was scheduled for six o'clock in the evening of September 9. 1746. The audience gathered in the "Spatious Town-hall." According to the custom of the day, the play was preceded by a Prologue. That Prologue was Joseph Greene's contribution to the evening! He wrote to his brother, Richard, that his words were spoken by Mr. Ward, "who enter'd fully into my sentiments, and express'd every sentence as I cou'd wish, wth the justest Emphasis and the most exact propriety, notwithstanding he had had the composition but a very short time in his possession."

The Reverend Mr. Greene, in his Prologue of forty-five lines, emphasized the moral side of drama, a fitting attitude for a clergyman in a town that had long been under Puritan influences. After noting that Greek drama had lashed out at a "vitious Age," and that Roman Bards had displayed "Vice in its Own Odious Garb array'd," he declared that it was "wond'rous Shakespeare" who, as Hamlet suggested, held up the glass to nature, and who reasoned deeply "Whether 'tis best to be or not to be." The plot of the ensuing production of *Othello* perhaps evoked these lines:

Thou, in thy Skill extensive, has reveal'd
What from the wisest Mortals seem'd conceal'd;
The Human heart through ev'ry wile to trace,
And pluck the Vizard from the treach'rous face;
Make the vile wretch disclaim his dark designs,
And own Conviction from thy nervous lines.

Mr. Greene lauded the divine spark in Shakespeare's genius.

Ask, By what Magick are the wonders wrought?
Know, 'tis by Matchless word, from Matchless Thought!
A ray[1] Celestial, kindled in the Soul,
With Sentiments unerring fill'd the whole;
Hence, his Expressions with just Ardour glow'd,
While Nature all her Stores on him bestow'd.

The end of Rev. Joseph Greene's Prologue reminded Stratfordians of their town's place in the dramatist's life, and referred to the project for which the benefit performance was being given:

Here, his first infant-lays great Shakespeare sung!
Here, his last accents faulter'd on his tongue!
His Honours yet with future Times Shall grow,
Like Avon's Streams, enlarging as they flow!
Be there thy trophies, Bard, these might alone
Demand thy features on the Mimick Stone[2],
But numberless perfections, still untold,
In ev'ry breast thy praises have enroll'd;
A richer Shrine, than if of Molten Gold!

In addition to speaking the Prologue, Mr. John Ward performed the part of Othello. Mr. and Mrs. Elrington played Iago and Desdemona, while Mrs. Ward was cast as Emilia. The comments on the playbill, apparently in Mr. Greene's handwriting, judged the ability of each of the ten principal actors and actresses. Beside the name of Mr. Woodward, who played the part of Brabantio, appears, "an elderly man. Some things well, others wretchedly." Mrs. Ward was jotted down as "a middle-ag'd Woman, a good actress." Mrs. Elrington, the ill-fated Desdemona, was described as "a 2nd wife, but young. a very agreeable actress."

Mrs. Erlington had to do double duty that evening. She and a Mrs. Wilson were likewise listed on the playbill as rendering "several Entertainments of SINGING between the ACTS." Romance must have been intriguing the players behind the scenes at that performance of *Othello,* for a handwritten comment on the playbill reveals, "Mrs. Wilson since married to Mr. Butcher." This Mr. Butcher played the part of Roderigo, and was "a young man" with his acting estimated as "low humour pretty well."

The triple performance of Prologue, *Othello,* and between-the-acts singing cost the spectators two shillings sixpence to sit in the Pit, and one shilling for a gallery seat. The Stratfordians must have responded generously to the playbill appeal to "such Persons as have a taste for the Inimitable Thoughts, the Sublime Expressions, the Natural and lively Descriptions and Characters of that Great Genius;" for "about 16 or 17 pounds were receiv'd from ye Spectators of ye play of Othello." The performance was considered successful in other ways, too. Mr. Greene wrote to his brother that the characters, except that of Brabantio, "were well personated, & the whole Conducted with much decorum, & its Consequence, Applause."

After much delay and dickering, the monumental bust of Shakespeare in Holy Trinity Church was restored. A paper written at Lilly at the Falcon and signed on December 10, 1748 (over two years after the benefit performance) by Mr. John Hall, Limner, by Mr. John Spur, who had custody of the money and seemed reluctant to sign, and by several witnesses for the borough and for the parish, promised to pay John Hall twelve pounds ten shillings for the work. By September 27, 1749, we know that the purpose of the special performance of *Othello* had been fulfilled, that the bust had been repaired and the coloring revived. On that date, Rev. Joseph Greene wrote to a Rev. Mr. John Sympton, "Care was taken, as nearly as cou'd be, not to add or to diminish what ye work consisted of, and appear'd to be when first erected."

Had it not been for the restoration of the monumental bust, and for the timely interest of Headmaster Joseph Greene of the Stratford Free School, we should not know that *Othello* was successfully performed in Stratford-upon-Avon a hundred and thirty

years after the death of William Shakespeare, that small town's "Great Genius."

A PROLOGUE

(N.B. Given before the performance of *Othello,* Sept. 9, 1746)

"To rouse ye languid breast by Strokes of Art,
When listless indolence had numb'd the heart;
In Virtue's Cause, her drooping Sons t'engage,
And with just Satire lash a vitious Age;
For this, first *Attic Theatres were rear'd,
Where Guilt's great foe in Sophocles appear'd:
For this, the Roman Bards their Scenes display'd,
And Vice in its Own Odious Garb array'd;
Taught Men afflicted innocence to prize,
And wrested tears from even Tyrants eyes.
But,—*to great Nature to hold up the Glass;
To Shew from her her Self what is, and was;
To reason deeply, (as the Fates decree,)
Whether 'tis best *to Be, or not to be;
This, wond'rous SHAKESPEARE was reserv'd for thee!
Thou, in thy Skill extensive, hast reveal'd
What from the wisest Mortals seem'd Conceal'd;
The Human heart through ev'ry wile to trace,
And pluck the Vizard from the treach'rous face;
Make the vile wretch disclaim his dark designs,
And own Conviction from thy nervous lines;
Reform the temper Surly rough and rude,
And force the half-unwilling to be good:
In Martial breast, new vigour to excite,
And urge the ling'ring Warriour still to fight;
Or,—if a State pacifick be his view,
Inform'd by thee, just paths to dare pursue,
And serve his Maker and his Neighbour too.
Ask, By what Magick are the wonders wrought?
Know, 'tis by Matchless word, from Matchless Thought!
A *ray Celestial, kindled in the Soul,
With Sentiments unerring filld the whole;
Hence, his Expressions with just Ardour glow'd,
While Nature all her Stores on him bestow'd.

*Attic or Grecian

*See Hamlet's directions to ye players

*See y fam'd soliloquy/ in Hamlet, beginning/ with those words

*Verse comes from Heav'n, like inward Light:/ Meer human pains can ne'er come by't;/ See Prior's poems Vol. I in the/Epit. to Fleetwood Shephard Esq;/

Hail, happy Stratford! envi'd be thy name!
What City boasts, than thee, a greater fame?
Here, his first infant-lays great Shakespeare sung!
Here, his last accents faulter'd on his tongue!
His Honours yet with future Times Shall grow,
Like Avon's Streams, enlarging as they flow!
Be there thy trophies, Bard, these might alone
Demand thy features on the Mimick *Stone,
But numberless perfections, still untold,
In ev'ry breast thy praises have enroll'd;
A richer Shrine, than if of Molten Gold!"

*alluding to ye Design in hand

[1]"Verse comes from Heav'n, like inward Light;
Meer human pains can ne'er come by't;
See Prior's poems Vol. I in the
Epit. to Fleetwood Shephard Esq;" [Note on MSS Prologue]

[2]"alluding to ye Design in hand" [Note on MSS Prologue]

SOME CLUES FOR *CORIOLANUS*

By Sidney Shanker

OPINIONS as to Shakespeare's reasons for composing *Coriolanus* have differed as widely as the many aesthetic judgments of the play.[1] There are two suggestions: (1) that he wrote it to emulate the success of Chapman's two-part tragedy of 1608,[2] and (2) that the play reflects the immediate social and political struggle of Shakespeare's day. This paper attempts to clarify the second point: the sociological background of *Coriolanus,* through the specific issues, political and economic, raised in the play.

The last of the major "peasant" or country-side rebellions which mark the course of the sixteenth century occurred in 1607.[3] In 1601 the great Elizabethan Poor Law was decreed, but several decades were to pass before the administrative lag caught up with the situation and before the advantages of relief as opposed to riots were realized by the gentry.[4] As usual, high prices, shortages of corn, and enclosures were the direct causes of the 1607 riots. To add to the sufferings of the agrarian poor, the year that followed saw a drought and a consequent bad harvest.[5] It should not strike us as peculiar then that a play written in 1608, even by the most objective of playwrights—and the term has been abused—reflects agrarian rebelliousness, suffering, and the miseries of a corn famine!

For the standard "objectivist" approach concerning Shakespeare's relationship to his economic milieu, I refer the reader to Frederick Tupper Jr.'s article, "The Shakesperean Mob."[6] Tupper like all justly opposed to the purely subjective treatment of Shakes-

peare demonstrates the potency of literary tradition and convention upon the poet's depiction of the mob:

> Indeed this paper is chiefly designed to show that the Shakespearean multitude has its genesis and justification not in any individual aloofness nor in personal tradition, but in the contemporary history and sentiment, in literary tradition, in the Elizabethan dramatic convention; and in the poet's resources, both English and classical . . .[7]

Tupper, however, like many scholars who conceive of social conditions from solely the literary point of view, fails to see that he reduces Shakespeare to an abstraction, to the sum total of his intellectual and cultural influences. Such an approach resembles the subjectivist one in that both, when carried to their logical conclusion, annihilate the concept the Shakespeare as a *man,* as a personality, as a being profoundly alive, who not only was acted upon by his times, but who was capable of *reacting* to them. That he was deeply influenced by the literary style and convention of his time, particularly in his early career, goes without saying. Yet he also brought much to his work based upon his own very deep and sensitive awareness of people and of their lives. A new approach to Shakespeare is necessary then to show that he was a *vital* force who created much of his drama out of his own *experience.*

Shakespeare, like any intelligent man (*sic*), could not help being acutely aware of the economic pressures surrounding him. He lived in an age of chaotic transition; the medieval ethos and economy was dissolving, falling to pieces beneath the surging advance of large-scale capitalist enterprise. There are the added facts that riots so serious occurred in his own Warwickshire—also in Northamptonshire—in 1607 that

> A commission of inquiry was then sent through the disturbed districts. The report of the commissioners is in the Record Office, but it has never been published. A second proclamation of pardon to the rioters, issued March 30, 1608, seems to have closed the matter.[8]

For eight months then, during which time he was composing *Coriolanus,* grave grain riots were occurring in his home county. Can one dare tell us that the poet was uninterested in what was going on in the world about him? At the very least there were his own property

interests. But more than this, can we suggest he was the kind of human being to be totally unaffected by human suffering on so large a scale? Such an idea is to me totally indefensible.

To return to the background, we find in Cunningham that riots were raging in Leiscestershire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire. "Mr. Hubert Hall, who had examined the returns of the Commission in 1607 informs me that there were more recent and extreme cases of depopulation in Warwickshire than elsewhere."[9] Warwickshire, in other words, was in the very raging center of this last, and one of the most serious, of peasant uprisings which were so frightening to the Tudor middle and upper classes. These facts may have nothing to do with the particular work, *Coriolanus;* but on the other hand they may have played a considerable part in shaping the play, in determining its approach to a basic socio-economic problem. At any rate the notion of Shakespeare as completely oblivious of his own time, unaware of his interest (and we have documentary proof from the law suits that he decidedly was not!) is surely an antiquated one.

While desiring to avoid the thorny problem of determining Shakespeare's own attitude toward social problems in general, and this one in particular, I cannot avoid some suggestions as to what may have been the poet's position. To begin with, his own attitude must needs have been an extremely complex and *contradictory* one. While himself a member of the landowning class, he had no sympathy with the newer agrarian program of enclosure and rack-renting. We know for a certainty that he opposed the enclosure of Welcombe, the high land overlooking his birthplace, Stratford-on-Avon. The truth was that Renaissance artists, such as Shakespeare, were caught in a tragic dilemma.[10] They could not accept the new world of anarchic individualism and complete egoism coming into violent being; and yet they must have realized that the medieval world of their birthright was passing out of existence. Shakespeare's own social attitude, therefore, is no simple matter. It was a sorely complex one for him, as well as one profoundly tragic. The standard objective method of Tupper, which does not examine closely the contemporary economic background, has overlooked this vital area: for it is in the rich and complex interraction of the individual and society that art and drama arise. The answers, ultimately, to the problems of Shakes-

perean scholarship lie in disclosing to their innermost depths the realities of his time, social, political, economic, cultural, and yes, of the daily life as well.

It has long been apparent that the plebes in *Coriolanus* are "anachronistic"; they are Jacobean, not Roman.[11] Keeping the facts of the above in mind, let us now re-examine certain passages of the play which deal with the citizens. Act 1, sc. 1 takes on a far deeper and exciting significance when one is familiar with the long history of English peasant uprisings, and the events of 1607-08 in particular.[12] "Let us kill him [Coriolanus]," cries the First Citizen, "and we'll have corn at our own price." He continues, "The leanness that affects us,[13] the object of our misery, is an inventory to particularize their abundance; our suffrance is a gain to them. Let us revenge this with our pikes ere we become rakes; for the gods know I speak this *in hunger for bread, not in thirst for revenge.*[14]

Also, when the Second Citizen speaks he is clearly referring to contemporary England, attacking the privileged wealth of his day who "provide more piercing statutes daily, to chain up and restrain the poor."[15] If *The Second Shepherd's Play* is accepted as a true and valuable picture of late fourteenth-century England, why cannot this be taken as a valid and important glimpse of lower class reaction to their social problems?

When the tactful and ingratiating Menelaus reports the plebeian disturbances to Coriolanus he speaks first of corn. "For corn at their own rates; whereof they say,/The city is well stor'd."[16] In his angry reply, Coriolanus, too, makes mention of corn. The word is also in his last utterance of this opening scene. Indeed, without corn and its connotations to an audience in the drought year of 1608, for whom the scene was undoubtedly tense with immediacy (trust Shakespeare's theatrical sense), the first scene is hardly plausible. Needless to say, Shakespeare himself invented the scene.

The foregoing "clues" throw light upon the otherwise puzzling background of *Coriolanus,* and thus may suggest Shakespeare's complex incentives for writing the play which reverberates with the economic rumblings of his day.

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[1]George P. Baker, *The Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1916) has an apt summation of the aesthetic effect of the play as something "cold" (p. 289).

[2]*The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron* was entered on the Stationers' Register in June 5, 1608. Chapman was obsessed with the problem of a "modern" hero in a milieu of dying feudalism. Byron, Bussy, Clermont, Chabot, and Cato, the roll call of Chapman's heroes bears witness to his concern with the tragedy of a proud hero in an inimical environment. Chapman's editor has well summarized this aspect of the dramatist's work: ". . . the peculiar tragedy of Chapman is the conflict of the individual with his environment" (*The Plays and Poems of George Chapman* [London, 1910], 11. 598). Essentially, *Coriolanus* is a similar kind of study, that of a proud, unyielding, aristocratic individualist in an hostile environment. It may be countered that Chapman was imitating Shakespeare. Such a case is extremely unlikely as the basic outlook of Chapman was fully matured before 1608; indeed, Bussy, Chapman's archetypal hero, was created in 1603-4.

[3]R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1912), p. 332. As used in dealing with the period, the term peasant is so general as to be meaningless. By then peasants were free agrarian workers.

[4]E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge, 1900), *passim.*

[6]*PMLA,* XXVII (1912), 486-523.

[7]*Ibid.,* p. 490.

[8]E. P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century as Reflected in Contemporary Literature* (Pub. of the Univ. of Pa., "Series in Philology, Literature and Archeology," Vol. IV, No. 2, 1895), pp. 94f.

[9]W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times* (3rd ed.; Cambridge, 1903), Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 102, n. 1.

[10]I am presently at work upon clarifying this basic concept of the age.

[11]To be fair to Tupper, I must report that he notes that Shakespeare's depiction of the mob is based upon Jacobean London, pp. 491-92.

[12]Late in 1606 the Venetian ambassador to England attempted to buy corn for his country. He found it exceedingly hard to do so because of the shortages resulting from high prices and exports (Cal. S.P. Ven., Oct. 26, 1606). James, when asked to intercede, quickly replied that he had but a "limited authority" over the question; that "it belonged to the law, the constitution, the Parliament, which ought not to be contravened in a matter of such moment as the people's bread. He could not face the possibility of riots." (Cal. S.P. Ven., Dec. 7, 1606). Only fear of a popular uprising then could force James to rely upon the detested power of Parliament!

[13]Leonard, *op. cit.,* p. 144: "In 1607 there had been serious disturbances in Northampton and elsewhere on account of enclosures. The harvest of 1608 was bad and the Council appears to have feared further disorder." People were known to die in the streets during bad years. Thus the account from Newcastle: "Sept. 1597. Paide for the charge of buringe 9 poore folkes who died for wante in the streets, for their grave making 3s." (p. 125). "Oct. 1597. Paid for the charge of buringe 16 poore folkes who died for wante in the streetes 6s. 8d." *(Ibid).* A little earlier a Bristol chronicler noted with evident relief that cheap bread kept the poor "from starving or rising" (p. 123).

[14]My emphasis.

[15]The truth of this is plain to those who possess even the slightest acquaintance with the economic background of the period.

[16]Again one is amazed to see how truthfully and closely Shakespeare is mirroring actual conditions. The worldly and all-observing Venetian ambassador craftily notes that grain is being sold abroad for higher prices (Cal. S.P. Ven., Oct. 26, 1606).

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN FALSTAFF AND GLUTTONY IN MEDWALL'S *NATURE*

By J. Wilson McCutchan

FALSTAFF has been many things to many men. In this article I am concerned with calling attention to similarities existing between Shakespeare's fat knight and Gluttony, who appears as a personified abstraction in Henry Medwall's *Nature*.[1] I do not intend to advance a new or different interpretation of Falstaff himself.

It is in the second part of *Nature* (E3-*recto*—I4-*recto*) that Gluttony is most active as a character, and it is here that he exhibits many of the traits of Falstaff, which I shall now review.

In *1 Henry IV* the audience is first introduced to Falstaff's character in the words of the Prince as he replies to Sir John's question about the time of day. Hal says:

> Thou art so fat-witted with drinking of old sack, and unbuttoning thee after supper, and sleeping upon benches after noon, that thou hast forgotten to demand that truly which thou wouldest truly know. What a devil hast thou to do with the time of the day?
> (I, ii, 2-6)

In *Nature,* Gluttony, who has been left alone when Worldly Affection goes to eat, says:

Mary that ys a thyng
Go whan thou wylt I wyll abyde
My stomak he shall not rule or gyde
That ys now fastyng
Nay of all thynge erthly I hate to fast
Four tymes a day I make repast
Or thryse as I suppose
And whan I am well fed
Than get I me to a soft bed
my body to repose
There take I a nap or twayn
Vp I go streyght and to yt agayn
Though nature be not redy
yet haue I some mete of delyte
For to prouoke thappetyte
And make the stomak gredy
After all thys nedys I must
Somtyme folow the wanton lust
For hote drynkys and delycate refeccyon
Causeth flesshely insurreccyon (G-*verso* - G2-*recto*)

Here is Gluttony, with a fine disregard for time, declaring his fondness for food and drink and confessing that he takes naps whenever his belly is filled. And, as Professor Shirley has properly noted,[2] the combination of gluttony and lechery in Falstaff is suggested in Gluttony's assertion that he sometimes follows "the wanton lust."

But this is not all. Some thirty-three lines before the passage just quoted from *Nature*, Worldly Affection and Gluttony are left on the stage together following a long discussion in which Man, Pride, Sloth, and Worldly Affection have participated. In the absence of specific stage directions, I think it likely that Gluttony, who has not spoken in the course of several pages, is snoozing on a chair, stool, or bench beside the fire.[3] He is suddenly awakened by Worldly Affection who abruptly demands his seat by the fire. To clarify this dialogue I have supplied tentative punctuation and stage directions.

Worldly Affection. . . .

. . . . . .

[*Rubbing his hands.*] For very cold myne handys do smart; It maketh me wo bygon.
[*Shouting at Gluttony.*] Get me a stole here! May ye not se?

[*More loudly.*] Or ellys a chayr! Wyll yt not be?
[*Going to Gluttony and shaking him by the shoulder.*] Thou pyld knaue, I speke to the!
How long shall I stande?

Gluttony. [*Drowsily, as if he is unaware that Man and Pride have gone and as if he is speaking to them. Or possibly addressing the audience.*] Let hym stand wyth a foule euyll!

. . . . . .

[*To Worldly Affection.*] Wyll ye se so? Euery dreuyll
Now adayes. I warand,
Must commaund as he were a kyng.
[*To the audience.*] Let hym stande on hys fete wyth bredyng!
(G-*recto* - G-*verso*)

If my interpretation of this scene is correct, we see here an excellent example of a replete Gluttony "sleeping upon benches" and happily oblivious to the passing of time and to what is taking place about him.

The second similarity between Falstaff and Gluttony is even more impressive than the one I have just mentioned. The essence of this comparison is that each, when he prepares for battle, provides himself with a bottle and speaks of it as a part of his military equipment. In *1 Henry IV* Hal and Falstaff are talking on the battlefield. The Prince asks Sir John to lend him his sword. Falstaff replies that Hal may have his pistol if he wants it, but not his sword. Hal takes it from the case and finds it to be a bottle of sack (V, iii, 50-57). The situation is echoed in *2 Henry IV* when Falstaff tells the Lord Chief Justice that if he brandishes anything but a bottle in battle he hopes that he may never spit white again (I, ii, 231-37).

In *Nature* Man inquires of the whereabouts of the remainder of his followers. At this point the stage direction reads:

Thë cometh ï Glotony wyth a chese & a botell.

And Wrath says,

Mary here cometh one.
Good felyshyp me semeth yt shuld be (G4-*recto*)

Parenthetically the reader should know that Good Fellowship is Gluttony's assumed name or alias in the play (cf. D4-*recto*). It is almost superfluous to comment on how appropriately this alias would fit Sir John.

After greetings have been passed the following conversation ensues:

Man. Ye where ys thy harnes

gloto. Mary here may ye se
Here ys Harnes I now.

wrath. Why hast thou none other harnes but thys

gloto. What the deuyll harnes shuld I mys
wythout yt be a botell
Another botell I wyll go puruey
Lest that drynk be scarce in the way
Or happely none to sell (G4-*verso*)

Gluttony's fear that drink may be scarce in the way may also be compared with Falstaff's instructions to Bardolph to go before him into Coventry to fill a bottle of sack (*1 Henry IV,* IV, ii, 1-3). The similarity between Falstaff and Gluttony in these scenes requires no further elaboration.[4]

Still another point of correspondence between the two characters is seen in their desire to avoid active danger. On the field of Shrewsbury Falstaff exclaims, "God keep lead out of me!" (*1 Henry IV,* V, iii, 34-36). Equally vehement is Gluttony's determination to "stand out of dannger / Of gon shot /" (G4-*verso*).

As a final illustration of the similarity between Falstaff and Gluttony I cite the dialogue in which Gluttony fails to recognize Man because of his thin and emaciated condition,[5] and suggests that they repair at once to the tavern where Man may remedy things by fast eating and drinking (G2-*verso*). It is scarcely necessary to compare Gluttony's obvious eagerness to conduct Man to the inn with Falstaff's fondness for the Boar's Head.

In summary, Falstaff and Gluttony resemble each other in the following points: (1) A fondness for food and drink followed by sleeping; (2) a disregard for the passing of time; (3) the habit of napping on chairs or benches; (4) carrying a bottle as a weapon in warfare; (5) a determination not to come within range of gunfire; (6) a proclivity to taverns with their promise of food and entertainment.

I do not insist that all of this proves Shakespeare to have been familiar with Medwall's *Nature*. Certainly the tradition of Gluttony and the obvious aspects of his appearance and character were familiar to Elizabethan playwrights and their audiences. At the same time it is wholly possible that Shakespeare was acquainted with the early play, for it was printed several years before he was born.[6] Each student must decide for himself how far coincidence can be advanced to explain what seem to me to be striking similarities in characterization and in incident. Certainly Medwall's Gluttony is a most unusual example of a morality forerunner of Falstaff.

It is equally true, of course, that Falstaff is far more than Gluttony ever was. I am not urging the acceptance of a direct relationship between the two characters, but there seems to be a greater similarity between them than anyone has yet pointed out. I think that it is logical and safe to say that Gluttony in *Nature* represents as an abstraction much of the concept embodied by the concrete, flesh-and-blood Falstaff of the two parts of *Henry IV*.[7]

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[1]Henry Medwall, *Nature*, ed. by John S. Farmer, Tudor Facsimile Texts, 1907. All citations are from this edition.

[2]John W. Shirley, "Falstaff, an Elizabethan Glutton," *PQ*, XVII, 276-77.

[3]That there was actually a fire on the stage is indicated in this passage and also in Man's previous indelicate remark about his inconstant wench (F2-*recto*).

[4]In 1778 George Steevens noted "the same comic circumstance" in this scene in *Nature and 1 Henry IV*, V, iii, 50-57, but he did not compare Falstaff with Gluttony. (Cf. William Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV*, in *The Plays*, etc., ed. by George Steevens, London, 1778, V, 415, note 2.)

[5]On at least one occasion Sir John derisively refers to Hal's leanness, although this was not the reason for his failure to recognize the Prince on Gadshill (cf. *1 Henry IV*, II, iv, 270-74).

[6]Farmer thinks that the play "was probably printed by John Rastell about 1516-20, . . ." (Introduction, p. v). Chambers thinks that it was printed by William Rastell in 1530-4 (cf. *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 443). In either event Shakespeare could easily have had access to it.

[7]This article has grown out of investigation made for a doctoral dissertation now nearing completion and to be presented to the Faculty of the University of Virginia. The title of the dissertation is *The Use and Development of Personified Abstractions as Characters in Elizabethan Drama.* In a later article, in process of composition, I hope to call attention to what seem to me to be further interesting similarities in characterization between Medwall and Shakespeare.

MACBETH'S "BABY OF A GIRL"

By R. C. Bald

Macbeth, addressing Banquo's ghost on its second appearance in the banqueting scene (III. iv. 99-106), exclaims:

> What man dare, I dare:
> Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
> The armed rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tiger,
> Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
> Shall never tremble: or be alive again,
> And dare me to the desert with thy sword;
> If trembling I inhabit then, protest me
> The baby of a girl.

The early editors usually explained "the baby of a girl" as a doll, but more recent commentators have been inclined to follow the Clarendon editors' interpretation of the phrase as "the infant of a very young mother," and this interpretation has been endorsed by Onions in his *Shakespeare Glossary* and by Kittredge in his edition of the play. The latest editor, Dover Wilson, has, however, a different explanation; following the French edition of Darmsteter, he interprets the words as meaning "a baby girl," and compares the construction with the phrase "that scoundrel of a man." He adds: " 'A girl's doll,' the usual gloss, has no relevance to timidity."

The word "baby," as the *O.E.D.* points out, is a pet-form of "babe;" it passed into familiar use, "while *babe* remained as the dignified word (e.g. in Scripture) and is now chiefly poetic." But, in the written language at least, until the beginning of the nineteenth century "babe" was probably more usual than "baby," and "baby" in the sense of doll is just as frequent as in the sense of in-

fant. It is easy to illustrate the less familiar sense of the word by examples additional to those cited in the Variorum edition and drawn from the century or so after Shakespeare's death. Donne, for instance, writes in one of his sermons:

> We should wonder to see a mother in the midst of many sweet children, passing her time in making babies and puppets for her own delight . . . [yet] we all make babies, fancies of honour in our ambitions.[1]

Addison, in the 500th *Spectator,* makes a polyphiloprogenitive correspondent assert:

> I can sit in my Parlour with great Content, when I take a Review of half a Dozen of my little Boys mounting upon Hobby-Horses, and of as many little Girls tutoring their Babies . . .

and Swift, describing Gulliver's early adventures in Brobdingnag, deliberately introduces the word to emphasize his hero's ridiculous plight:

> My mistress had a daughter of nine years old, a child of forward parts for her age, very dexterous at her needle, and skilful in dressing her baby. Her mother and she contrived to fit up the baby's cradle for me against the night; . . .
>
> The box was close on every side, with a little door for me to go in and out, and a few gimlet-holes to let in air. The girl had been so careful as to put the quilt of her baby's bed into it, for me to lie down on.[2]

After these passages, can anyone doubt that, even supposing Shakespeare to have intended something different, his audiences for at least a century and a half after *Macbeth* was written could scarcely help interpreting "the baby of a girl" as a doll? In certain contexts "baby" by itself could have been ambiguous, but "baby of a girl" would have admitted no such ambiguity.

Shakespeare's use of the definite article instead of the indefinite one seems to render Dover Wilson's explanation unacceptable, but his objection still remains. It is true that at first sight "the usual

gloss, 'a girl's doll,' has no relevance to timidity" (though it does imply a reference to helplessness). But already in *Macbeth* there are signs of the telescoping of thought and imagery so characteristic of the style of Shakespeare's last period. This particular phrase carries with it the visual image of a child fondling and in imagination soothing a small and helpless replica of herself. Macbeth's mind seems first to have seized on the rather conventional image of a child to suggest the weakness and cowardice of which he would be guilty were he to blench from meeting Banquo in combat. Then, in a flash, his mind shifts to another object (the doll) which, in point of size at least, bears the same relationship to the child as she bears to him. The resultant analogy may not be complete, but the effect of hyperbole achieved justifies its use.

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[1] *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose*, ed. John Hayward, p. 579.

[2] Pt. 2, ch. 2.

BY ART AS WELL AS BY NATURE

S. Blaine Ewing

USING the rhetorical distinction between Art and Nature, which persisted as a favorite from Aristotle even to modern times, and playing on the sound of the words, Mercutio compliments Romeo on an exhibition of wit:

> Now art thou sociable, now art thou Romeo; now art thou what thou art, by art as well as by nature."[1]

Mercutio stands at the center of Elizabethan poetic tradition in thus finding the source of wit neither in native gift nor in ingenuity alone, but in both. For in this matter as in others, the Renaissance sought balance and the full development and harmonious use of all resources. Did not Sidney say that the poet "goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging within the zodiac of his own wit"?[2]

There have always been critics enough to emphasize Shakespeare's ignorance of Art and his knowledge of Nature—his fortunate reliance on his gift; as long ago as Milton, one asked to be taken to the theatre

> If Jonsons learned Sock be on,
> Or sweetest Shakespear fancies childe,
> Warble his native Wood-notes wilde;[3]

but few critics in any era find so justly the Renaissance balance between the two, as Sister Miriam Joseph in *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language*.[4] In detail and at large the author makes an explication of the two hundred or more tropes and figures current in Elizabethan grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and quotes hundreds of

the passages in which they appear in Shakespeare's works. This is Shakespeare's Art. At the same time she makes assertion of the poet's gift, never better demonstrated than in the skill with which he chose and applied the tropes and figures. Repeatedly the author is impelled to such judgments as "Shakespeare used [the compound epithet] . . . with greater freedom than his fellow dramatists, and by means of it created language picturesque, sudden, and evocative. This figure [catachresis] . . . is in Shakespeare's hands a vital creative instrument with which he forges sudden concentrations of meaning, and secures the compression, energy, and intensity which characterize great poetry."[5] Never is the reader allowed to imagine that a poet at work on a play thumbed his grammar-school copy of Joannes Susenbrotus's *Epitome Troporum ac Schematum,* and, questioning whether he should here use a *mesozeugma* or a *soraismus,* or, perhaps better than either, a *procatalepsis,* came out with a masterpiece. On the contrary one is led to feel, as the instances multiply, that a poet's conscious extensive use of tropes and figures which fit the categories is a sign not of the tyro but of the expert. Sister Miriam Joseph's arrangement does not allow treatment of the plays in chronological order, but it is evident that the progress from a play in which Shakespeare is obviously rhetorical, like *Love's Labour's Lost,* to one in which he is less, like *The Winter's Tale,* is not a decrease but actually an increase in the number of figures, and in the aptness with which they are used.

The author's stated purpose is "To show how Shakespeare used the whole body of logical-rhetorical knowledge of his time; . . . an investigation that aims, not at the discovery of specific sources . . . but at the reconstruction of the general theory of the time."[6] This theory is not novel, but, having been generally neglected after the abandonment of classical method and content in school, it has the effect of novelty. Knowledge of it can be a strong corrective; for example, redeeming the pun, which ever since the eighteenth century has been considered a tasteless intruder at serious occasions—like a practical joker at a wedding: "To an Elizabethan the play upon words was not merely an elegance of style and a display of wit; it was also a means of emphasis and an instrument of persuasion. An argument might be conducted from step to step—and in the pamphleteers it often is—by a series of puns. The genius of the language encouraged them."[7]

The book has three main parts: I. a general statement and history of the Renaissance theory of composition; II. the tropes and figures illustrated in Shakespeare's works; III. the tropes and figures defined by English writers of the Renaissance. Part I divides the writers into three classes: the Traditionalists, who treat of the subjects usually to be found under Logic and Rhetoric, but are indifferent about these labels; the Ramists, who are especially careful to assign the label Logic and to deny the label Rhetoric to some of the most important parts of the process of composition; and the Figurists, who approach the subject from the point of view of form rather than of content. By showing then that all three groups can be reconciled on their basic Aristotelianism, and that all their subdivisions can be arranged under one or the other of Aristotle's Means of Persuasion (Logos, Pathos, and Ethos), the author achieves a new organization of Renaissance rhetoric under these headings, which the partisans of the time might have been too name-loving to accept. The reader must master this section before reading Part II, else he will be unaware of the novelty and effectiveness of the organization.

Part II is the one which gives the book its title and which readers of this journal will find most interesting. Here, with a rhetorician's thoroughness, Sister Miriam Joseph classifies and labels many a famous passage. Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be," is a *disjunctive proposition;*[8] Romeo's greeting to the dawn ("jocund day Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops") is *chronographia;*[9] Portia's granting that Shylock has the right of the law in order to entrap him is *concessio;*[10] Othello's demanding the handkerchief is *epimone.*[11] But Sister Miriam Joseph is no Holofernes. Though this explication may invite a smile at its seeming pedantry, it cannot disenchant a line, except for those whose eyes see the label and are by it rendered unable to perceive any further. For in fact the figures are part of Shakespeare's *ars poetica,* indispensable to an understanding of the nature and purposes of his poetry. "Poets who took so much trouble to follow Art would not wish this Art to be ignored in the reading and would expect their listeners . . . to respond with aural and mental agility."[12]

Moreover the concept of the figures often itself becomes an ingredient in the thought of the play, and the explication in this

book then casts new light—even on a character's thinking and motivation. Thus—"a disjunctive syllogism has for its major premise a disjunctive proposition expressing alternatives, one of which the minor premise affirms or denies, while the conclusion in consequence affirms or denies the other."[13] Now the King-at-Prayer scene in *Hamlet*[14] employs a pair of such syllogisms in sequence, and a fallacy. The results are crucial: the King confronts his conscience with the fearful disjunction: he is either saved or damned; if he is truly penitent, he is saved; but he cannot be penitent and still be possessed of the crown, of his ambition, and of the queen, which he is unwilling to forego; therefore he is damned. At this point Hamlet enters; he presents himself the disjunction: either he can gain revenge upon the King by killing him now, or he cannot; if Hamlet sends the King to death like Hamlet's father

> Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
> Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled,
> No reckoning made, but sent to my account
> With all my imperfections on my head,[15]

he gains revenge; but the King is at his prayers, hence "fit and season'd for his passage"; therefore Hamlet cannot gain revenge by killing him now. Hamlet's minor premise, unfortunately for him, is a fallacy, but an inevitable one since he entered after the King had reached his negative conclusion.

Thus does an explication of the figures in this scene highlight the thinking of the characters and reveal the full dramatic irony of the situation: the King is so good a logician that he cannot deceive himself and betray his own soul, though his action does accidentally deceive Hamlet and thus for the time confirm the preservation of the King's life from death and damnation. Hamlet is so good a logician that he proceeds relentlessly on the best premises available (false) to their inevitable conclusion (false). This is Hamlet, vigorous in the exercise of his university training (like Shakespeare of his grammar-school training), not Hamlet "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."[16]

Part III is distinguished in offering a convenient new "handbook" of English Renaissance doctrines on the art of composition, using the organization just described.

Sister Miriam Joseph's study belongs to several traditions, but especially to that of Shakespeare's learning. It follows logically after T. W. Baldwin's *William Shakespear's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*[17] as an expanded treatment of one aspect of the discipline which is there revealed—Upper School Rhetorical Training.[18] Logical studies to follow would be investigations, on the pattern of this book, into the practice of other poets, or, as Sister Miriam Joseph suggests,[19] investigation of Shakespeare's use of any or all of the features of Renaissance rhetoric-logic, using every occurrence in the plays rather than examples only. This has been done heretofore only partially, and with great overemphasis on one art of language: verse-form. In addition, the results may prove to be means for making more certain the answers to some questions of authorship.[20]

Each chapter of the book concludes with stirring summary paragraphs, and Part II with a general summary of the effects of Shakespeare's use of grammar, rhetoric, and logic.[21] The Index is notable for its assemblage of figures of speech—an accurate key to Shakespeare's use of them and to the authoritative doctrine as propounded by rhetoricians of his time. If this list could be improved upon, it would be by the addition of a *table* of the figures, schematical as they appear in the body of the book rather than alphabetical, to furnish a quick prospectus and review of the whole subject.

Errors are few, but some occur where they should have been excluded with the utmost care. For example, in the Index under "Shakespeare, citations from the works of,"[22] the reference to *The Rape of Lucrece* on page 112 is omitted, and *Richard II 116* should read *117*. Something appears to have gone wrong with the headlines on pages 81 and 307.

Tucker Brooke concluded his review of Baldwin's *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* with the warning, "This exegesis will hereafter be ignored by teachers at their peril."[23] Without trying to give our little Senate such dire laws, one can justly say of *Shakespeare's Use*

of the Arts of Language: This explication makes an interesting and substantial contribution to the appreciation of Shakespeare.

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[1]*Romeo and Juliet,* II, iv, 93-95.

[2]*Defense of Poesy,* edited by Albert S. Cook, Boston, 1890, p. 7.

[3]*The Student's Milton,* edited by Frank A. Patterson, New York, 1933, p. 25.

[4]New York, Columbia University Press, 1947.

[5]*Op. cit.,* pp. 124, 146.

[6]*Ib.,* p. 13.

[7]*Ib.,* p. 165. Quoted from Frank P. Wilson, "Shakespeare and the Diction of Common Life," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* XXVII (1941), p. 14. Cf. Johnson, "A quibble is the golden apple for which [Shakespeare] will always turn aside from his career or stoop from his elevation. A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight that he was content to purchase it by the sacrifice of reason, propriety, and truth." "Preface to Shakespeare," *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.,* London, 1823, X, 149.

[8]*Op. cit.,* p. 118.

[9]*Ib.,* p. 129.

[10]*Ib.,* p. 216.

[11]*Ib.,* p. 220.

[12]*Ib.,* p. 48. Quoted from George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie,* edited by Gladys D. Willcock and Alice Walker, Cambridge, 1936, p. lxxv.

[13]*Op. cit.,* p. 186.

[14]*Hamlet,* III, iii.

[15]*Ib.,* I, v, 76-79.

[16]*Ib.,* III, i, 85.

[17]Urbana, 1944.

[18]II, pp. 1-238.

[19]*Op. cit.,* p. 287.

[20]*Ib.,* pp. 86-87, 133 n. 14.

[21]*Ib.,* pp. 286-289.

[22]*Ib.,* p. 421.

[23]*Modern Language Notes,* LX (1945), p. 126.

QUARTERLY REVIEWS

Richard Flatter, *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*

(New York, W. W. Norton. $3.00. viii—184 pp).

BY GILES E. DAWSON

IN ADDITION to being poet and philosopher, Shakespeare was also, and first of all, a professional playwright. He wrote Elizabethan plays for Elizabethan actors and Elizabethan spectators. This aspect of Shakespeare was too often forgotten by his eighteenth-century editors and critics, who were prone to make of him an eighteenth-century poet for eighteenth-century readers. The romantic criticism of the next century was too apt to concentrate on the poet and thinker and to overlook the fundamentally dramatic nature of the form in which the poet chose to cast his thoughts.

We are still plagued by this one-sided and incomplete view of Shakespeare. But in recent years Granville-Barker and others have led a vigorous reaction from these errors to a saner criticism, so that now fewer and fewer of the professors who teach Shakespeare and of the scholars who write books about him are in danger of forgetting the actor and the spectator whom the poet himself never forgot. Dr. Flatter's book is an important contribution to this basic dramatic view of Shakespeare's stageplays. Himself a poet, he wisely prepared for his great work of producing a new translation of Shakespeare into German by devoting two years to the study of stagecraft under Max Reinhardt. "A translator of Shakespeare," he writes, "cannot allow himself not to be in touch with the living stage." Through this training and through the actual work of translating, as well as through a study of English texts and German translations, Dr. Flatter has arrived at a principle. If I understand this

principle it is something like this: Shakespeare, an excellent actor, was steeped in practical stagecraft, which he understood thoroughly. This knowledge caused him, and enabled him, when he was writing, to have constantly before his eyes the actor who would speak his words. He was able to see his lines in action, visualizing every gesture and hearing every pause and inflection. As he put his lines on paper he employed a system of signs and symbols—a system not practised by other dramatists—which later conveyed to the real stage manager and the real actor his directions for speaking the lines and performing the actions. These signs and symbols, consisting of metrically incomplete lines and other metrical irregularities, of broken speeches, of punctuation, and even of spelling, were of course understood by the actors. Their importance was understood also by Jaggard, who may have been instructed by Heminges and Condell, and who accordingly preserved them carefully in the First Folio. Therefore if we are to understand Shakespeare's lines fully we too must understand and observe all these pointers as we find them in the Folio. It is to the significance of these pregnant symbols that the title of the book, *Shakespeare's Producing Hand,* refers.

A considerable part of the book—in my opinion the most stimulating—Dr. Flatter devotes to the meaning of the metrical irregularities which are of frequent occurrence in the mature plays. In his early period Shakespeare was somewhat fettered by devotion to verse regularity. But freeing himself from this restraint, he began, about the turn of the century, to exercise a bolder spirit, his metres acquiring greater richness of variety and greater subtlety of effect. He no longer hesitated to introduce metrically incomplete lines and other striking irregularities in his verse. His first printers, particularly Jaggard, printed such lines as they found them. But in the hands of Pope and the other editors of the eighteenth century, whose ears were attuned to Augustan rhythms, the metrical irregularities were smoothed over and erased from the text. They were put down to the carelessness and incompetence of the early printers, and the editors allowed themselves a free hand to reform what was amiss in order that they might restore Shakespeare's text to the correctness which it deserved. And even now, after two centuries of advance in the concept of an editor's duties, our standard texts still bear the heavy impress of the Augustan correctors.

And our Duties are to your Throne, and State,
Children, and Seruants; which doe but what they should,
By doing euery thing safe toward your Loue
And Honor.

King. Welcome hither:
I haue begun to plant thee, and will labour
To make thee full of growing . . .[1]

Editors from Theobald to Dover Wilson (including Furness) rearrange these lines in a variety of ways to eliminate the truncated line "And Honor. Welcome hither."

But Shakespeare wrote the line, we may suppose, as it stands in the Folio—and for a reason. He intended a pause after "hither:" during which Duncan steps forward toward Macbeth, or clasps his hand, or, as Dr. Flatter prefers to think, embraces him, just as he unquestionably embraces Banquo a moment later. Whatever reason we may assign for such a pause, Dr. Flatter's book provides abundant and convincing evidence that at least a great many such metrical breaks are not the result of accident or corruption but were intentional and for some definite reason. They ought, of course, if this belief is correct, to be restored in our modern texts.

This is not new doctrine. Granville-Barker preached it, and it has recently been set forth most persuasively by Professor G. B. Harrison in "A Note on *Coriolanus*."[2] But it is a doctrine which needs further emphasis, which ought to be brought home to every editor, professor, and student of Shakespeare. Dr. Flatter develops it further than has been done heretofore, and with great eloquence. He demonstrates many sorts of metrical irregularity employed by Shakespeare in a great variety of ways and for many purposes.

In much of his book, however, Dr. Flatter is on less secure ground. His chapter on punctuation, for example, is filled with illustrations of the pitfalls prepared for the entrapment of the textual critic insufficiently grounded in the bibliographical approach of the Greg-McKerrow school. The chapter shows too the special dangers likely to beset the actor-producer when he turns editor. The text of Shakespeare is not fully equipped with directions for acting—indications of every gesture, pause, movement, or vocal inflection.

The actor must supply these as he thinks best or as tradition may suggest; and his hand is free, for therein lies his art. But textual criticism is another matter. Here is little scope for aesthetic judgment or the exercise of personal preference—for that way Pope and Hanmer lie. Dr. Flatter's treatment of punctuation abounds in examples of unrestrained reliance upon his own feelings as to what Shakespeare meant. On *Hamlet,* I, ii, 86,

> These, but the Trappings, and the Suites of woe.[3]

his comment is that "The comma after 'These' has the same function as a questionmark: '[As to] these [garments]? [They are] but the trappings and the suits of woe.' "[4] What of the comma after "Trappings"? Are we at liberty to ignore this as mere heavy Elizabethan punctuation? or does it too have some special signification? Then there is what Dr. Flatter likes to call "the raised-finger type" of comma (p. 145). "Sometimes such a comma may indicate a raised finger; often, however, it may merely imply a short pause, a raised eyebrow, a twinkle of the eye, a poking in the rib, etc." He produces a number of examples, of which one is *2 Henry IV,* Induc., 15-6:

> *Rumour,* is a Pipe
> Blowne by Surmises, Ielousies, Coniectures;

where the comma after *"Rumour"* is of the "raised-finger type." Colons too have their special message: "the colon often seems to have no other purpose than to indicate a gesture"—often, not always, for we may also distinguish "logical" colons (p. 146). In the knocking scene, *Macbeth,* II, iii, Dr. Flatter finds five colons, of which two are, he says, of the logical type and three "hardly more than indications of a gesture." In *Twelfth Night,* III, iv, 38-9, a prose passage,

> *Maluo.* At your request:
> Yes Nightingales answere Dawes

he holds "that the colon stands for a gesture, and apparently for a rather elaborate one: Malvolio looks Maria up and down contemptuously before, turning his back on her, he finished her off with the devastating remark that he, a nightingale, could never answer a

ridiculous daw." O eloquent colon! Does it really say that? or is Flatter the actor doing what any actor has a right to do—reading into the line his own interpretation?

In all this concept of the functions of Shakespeare's punctuation a fundamental weakness is apparent. Dr. Flatter does not know how much of the punctuation of the First Folio is Shakespeare's own and how much is the compositor's. No one knows, and Dr. Flatter gives no indication that he has given the problem much thought. Without facing this problem squarely no profitable study of the Folio punctuation is possible. The fact is that such studies of Shakespeare's punctuation as have been attempted have proved of limited value simply because there has not yet been found a satisfactory answer to the question of whose punctuation we have in early printed texts. We still await—and badly need—a thorough-going examination of Elizabethan punctuation as a whole. A common and reasonable assumption is that a compositor found it easier to follow his copy than to attempt any reformation of his own. And yet, in what we might call the small tools of writing—spelling, capital letters, abbreviations, punctuation—writers of the Elizabethan age were notoriously (though in varying degrees) careless and unsystematic. To them, words were ideas and sounds, not ordered series of characters. But printinghouse compositors spent their working lives handling these smaller units: their attention was perforce drawn to them, and they tended to form habits and standards of practice. So it was, as it is still, the printers rather than the writers who led the steady but slow march toward standardization of spelling and punctuation. No one who has done much reading of Elizabethan manuscripts can have failed to notice the vast difference between written spelling and punctuation and printed. Judged by our present-day standards, Elizabethan compositors were neither very systematic nor very careful, but they were more so than most writers were. Unfortunately we have virtually no examples of manuscript which served as printer's copy, by which we can test the faithfulness of any particular compositor in following any particular copy. For Shakespeare we have no such examples. But we do have *Sir Thomas More,* and as long as scholars continue to view Addition D of this manuscript as almost certainly the handwriting and composition of Shakespeare we cannot ignore the evidence which it affords. For what the punctuation of these few lines is worth as evidence on Shakespeare's habits

of punctuation during at least one period of his life, it bears absolutely no relationship to that of the First Folio. Indeed it comes about as close as possible to being no punctuation at all. In the 250 lines of Hand D[5] I find that commas average something like one to every three lines; of period I find some half dozen, of semicolons a like number, and of colons none. Four of the periods occur at the ends of lines, all the other line-ends being entirely without punctuation. If this is Shakespeare's punctuation, then that of the Folio can hardly be.

What seems to me to be another serious flaw in Dr. Flatter's reasoning underlies not only his discussion of punctuation but much of the whole doctrine that Shakespeare used a definite system of internal pointers to indicate for the actor the pauses, gestures, and actions by which the written word was to come alive on the stage. Obviously, many of the commas and many of the colons, whether inserted by Shakespeare as he wrote or years later by the compositor, would fall naturally where any competent actor would make a pause or a gesture. This is inherent in any system of punctuation, but more especially in the Elizabethan system, much of which is rhetorical rather than logical. What I cannot grant is that either the punctuation or the metrical irregularities can be regarded as forming a kind of code by which the poet instructed the actor. Unless every colon indicates a pause (which of course Dr. Flatter does not believe), how was the actor to know what colons meant what?

In the chapter on "Simultaneousness" Dr. Flatter carries his theory of a system of signals for the actor to unreasonable lengths. He prints (p. 60) *Othello,* II, iii, 162-76, "as a modern writer might have written them":

Iag.: The town will rise. Fie—fie, lieutenant,
You'll be ashamed for ever—hold! —ho—!
Lieutenant, Sir Montano, gentlemen—
Have you forgot all place of sense and duty?
Hold!—The general speaks to you—hold—for shame—

Mon.: [simultaneous with Iago:]
I bleed still—I am hurt to th' death—he dies!

Oth.: [who, with attendants, has entered after: "You'll be asham'd for ever", shouting simultaneously with Iago and Montano:]
What is the matter here: Hold! for your lives!
Why—how now—ho! From whence ariseth this?
Are we turn'd Turks? and to ourselves do that
Which heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?
For Christian shame, put by this barbarous brawl!
He that stirs next, to carve for his own rage,
Holds his soul light: he dies upon his motion!
[Here he has outdone the other; there is silence, except for the bell.]
Silence that dreadful bell; it frights the isle
From her propriety. What is the matter, masters?

After setting forth a not very convincing argument in support of the simultaneousness of parts of these speeches, he continues:

> The simultaneousness is also borne out by the fact that in both Iago's and Othello's speeches the versification is not broken off by the other's (or Montano's) lines. As shown above, Iago's words:
>
> You'll be asham'd for ever—hold—ho
>
> (if only "hold" is held out long enough) and Othello's:
>
> What is the matter here? Hold, for your lives!
>
> form the usual iambics. The interruption of versification, as it appears in print, is one to the eye only. Yet it seems to be clear why Shakespeare breaks the lines: dividing them he uses the two parts as though they were brackets. Thus he indicates what he wishes his characters to do: speak simultaneously. As it is not his wont to give stage-directions it is difficult to see how else he could have expressed his intention. In a highly ingenious way he makes line-division serve as stage-direction.
>
> He was not content to write the speeches one after the other and to tell the actors afterwards: "Here you will shout together"; but so vividly did he see and hear all the details of the uproar while inventing it that he put down the different voices in a way not dissimilar to that of a composer who writes the score of a trio.

This is beyond belief. Not that Shakespeare may not have thought of these lines as being spoken in a sort of general hubbub, for there is unquestionable evidence, some of it presented by Dr. Flatter, that Elizabethan dramatists did make use of this device. But it is surely too much to expect of an actor that he should see these obscure brackets and know what they meant. Perhaps—though it appears otherwise to me—simultaneousness in the acting of this passage is good stagecraft, but if Shakespeare intended it he need not have used means of such uncertain effectiveness to tell the actors what he wanted. He *could* have written a stage-direction or two. Or it may be that he did "tell the actors afterwards: 'Here you will shout together.' " My own opinion is that Shakespeare well knew the capabilities of the company among whom he had himself learnt his stagecraft and that he trusted them to understand their business and to act the lines as they ought to be acted.

If I have dwelt more on the weakness of Dr. Flatter's book than on its abundant strength, it is because I think it a book that will be read and ought to be read, though with a certain degree of caution. It embodies a penetrating grasp of the fundamental nature of Shakespeare's plays as living drama and contains for all students a message which they need to hear again and again. Nowhere is this message better expressed than in the four chapters on *Macbeth,* especially the first, Chapter VIII, on "the bleeding sergeant," in which he disposes of much error and presents a most sane and satisfying analysis. Any student who neglects to read the book will be cutting himself off from a source of enjoyment and of enrichment of his view of Shakespeare.

The Folger Shakespeare Library

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[1]*Macbeth,* I, iv, 24 ff. I quote from the First Folio. Flatter purports to do so (p. 34) but preserves only the Folio line arrangement (which is what here concerns him), modernizing spelling, capital letters, and punctuation. Elsewhere (e.g., in quoting from *Lear,* p. 78), following no discernible principle, he retains Folio spelling, capitals, and punctuation.

[2]*Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, 1948), pp. 239-52.

[3]As usual Flatter modernizes spelling and capitalization, but here not, of course, punctuation. Since he does not use Globe line numbers, it is regrettable that he nowhere tells what text he does use.

[4]He adds "All editors omit that comma." Rowe and Theobald print not only *that* comma but *those* commas, and Furness prints the first one.

[5]I rely here upon Greg's Malone Society transcript.

The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson

by Allan H. Gilbert, Duke University Press, 1948.
xi-297 pp. 71 plates.

BY HENRY W. WELLS

THIS volume offers a descriptive list alphabetically arranged of "allegorical, mythological, and historical persons who appear in Ben Jonson's masques and entertainments." The descriptions are, as far as they go, very accurate and the list is comprehensive. A useful bibliography is appended of works accessible to Jonson and especially valuable to him in creating his allegorical figures. Of somewhat less value for the student today is another list of scholarly writings since 1637, the year of Jonson's death, dealing with the same subject. The illustrations with which the book ends supply a livelier commentary than is possible in words. They are, of course, drawn from works contemporary with the English dramatist. The author shows prudent judgment in taking his figures largely from black and white prints, thereby keeping reasonably close to the originals. His most frequent sources are Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia,* Rome, 1603, and Vicenzo Cartari's *Le Imagini dei dei degli antichi,* Venice, 1571. The black and white pictures may suggest, however, that among possible omissions in the text are some of Jonson's uses of color symbolism, the field so interestingly treated in Miss. Linthicum's volume on Elizabethan costume. Musical symbolism is also a matter of interest, concerning which this book offers scant materials. Perhaps there is a little too much stress on plain black and white after all.

The list forming the body of the book is preceded by a brief and somewhat perfunctory introduction, stressing the literary and didactic spirit of Jonson's contribution to the masks as opposed to the aesthetic and decorative contribution by Inigo Jones. This view is indeed obviously sound. Professor Gilbert is of the opinion that Jonson's learning is not materially greater than Chapman's or Heywood's. The judgment regarding Chapman proves at once convincing; that regarding Heywood is, to say the least, more interesting.

Since the author doubtless regards his work as primarily a reference book, he may well be excused or even commended for not including a serious critical study based upon his researches. Yet one naturally asks where one goes from here? Many questions will arise in the reader's mind concerning the character and worth of this allegorical imagery, the relation of the images in Jonson's masks to other masks, to his own plays, to Edmund Spenser, and to the literature, art and culture of the times. There is the historical problem of the development of imagery in Jacobean masks from that in the earlier Tudor pageants. Larger psychological and aesthetic problems, often concerning the interrelations of the arts, also project themselves into the picture. Regarding almost all these matters Professor Gilbert preserves a considered silence. They are therefore materials for other books. But this work stands, in any case, firmly upon its own accomplishment as a singularly well compiled reference book in the field of Renaissance iconography, limited by its focus upon the masks of Ben Jonson but within that province alone covering a considerable area.

Columbia University Dramatic Museum

NOTES AND COMMENT

Othello, popular at Stratford in 1746 as Miss Mann reveals, was the outstanding triumph at the Memorial theatre in 1948 with Godfrey Tearle in the lead, "whose voice, presence, temperament, all proclaimed the kingly quality of Othello, his nobility, authority, integrity of mind and emotion." Diana Wynyard's Desdemona was a fit mate for Tearle's Othello, portraying a frank and joyous quality to match the courage of the girl who could make her own choice and back it unflinchingly to the end. Anthony Quayle, Director of the Stratford Players, has announced a revival of the 1948 *Othello* with the same leads. He himself played the part of Iago as it should be played, a coarse-grained jealous soldier, rather than as a sneaking, mischievous Mephistopheles.

A production of *Othello* by Constantine Stanislavsky, the famous founder and director of the Moscow Art Theatre is well described in the study *Stanislavsky Produces "Othello"* (Geoffrey Press, 21). "His insistence on the fact that Othello and Desdemona are a newly married pair should be unnecessary, but far too many actors and critics appear to forget that the whole tragedy involves the emotions and behaviour inevitable in a bride and groom, but improbable in a long established relationship. He also makes the valuable, but often neglected, point that it is Iago, not Othello, who is the jealous one, and shows, too, that Iago's malignant envy is not baseless." Othello is one, as he himself says in vindication, "not easily jealous," but goaded into jealousy by Iago's insinuations, "perplexed in the extreme." There are few more piteous spectacles in Shakespeare than Othello's: "O fool, fool, fool" when he tears himself to pieces in recognition of his credulous folly.

Valuable histories of the theatre are appearing. Ruth Ellis has written a survey of seventy years of drama at Stratford-on-Avon in her *The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre,* (Winchester, 15s). W. Macqueen-Pope has told the story of the *Haymarket* from 1720-1947, (W. H. Allen, 17s6d). This venerable and beloved theatre inscribes on its roll of managers Theophilus Cibber, Foote, the Colmans, D. E. Morris, Benjamin Webster, Buckstone, the Bancrofts, Beerbohm Tree, the Harrison-Maude regime, and the Watsons. Among talented actors, who have also played at Stratford, are Helen Faucit, Barry Sullivan, Henry Compton, William Creswick, Ellen, Marion and Fred Terry, Julia Neilson, Phyllis Neilson-Terry, Henry Ainley, Lilian Braithwaite, Ben Greet, Beerbohm Tree, H. B. Irving, and Godfrey Tearle. A history of the Old Vic is promised in the future by the same publisher, Clarence Winchester.

We have also received from the Winchester Press two beautiful volumes: *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece,* profusely and dramatically illustrated by J. Junge-Bateman—both priced at 30s net.

Mary Violet Cowan, age 43, a former cleaner at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Library, endeavored to sell to a London firm a first quarto *Pericles,* worth £2,000, a *Merchant of Venice* valued at £2,000, *Praise of Owls,* £250, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* £150, which she had purloined from the collection. Her letter accompanying the registered parcel of *Pericles* stated that she wished to get "the best possible price for it." This hopeful endeavor reminds us of the fatuous attempt of three thieves who stole the First Folio of Shakespeare from the Chapin Library at Williamstown, and found to their consternation and sorrow that they were unable to dispose of it without apprehension by the police, which duly followed, with the return of the Folio to the Library. There is more to rare book theft than becoming aware of rare titles. There is the nearly impossible hurdle of provenance, or the alteration of the book to erase all traces of identification—a dubious and dangerous feat with rare quartos and folios. (R.M.S.)